

These are the Electronic Appendices for the paper “It’s not the Left: Ideology and Protest Participation in Old and New Democracies”

Contents

Regression tables for Figures 1 & 3	2
Robustness checks: Table 2	7
Continuous L/R scale	7
Demonstrations only	8
Petitions only	9
Cumulative scale (petitions + demonstrations)	10
Controlling for ideological extremism	11
Clustered standard errors	12
Robustness checks: Table 3 and Figure 4	13
Table 3: Continuous L/R scale, reduction of income inequalities . .	13
Figure 4: Continuous L/R scale	14
Figure 4: Reduction of income inequalities	15
Figure 4: EP without Hungary	16
Mokken scale analysis	17
Descriptive statistics	18
EVS data	18
ESS data	18
Political patterning in Hungary and Poland	19

Table EA1: Evolution of the Effect of Ideology on Protesting 1990-2010 (EVS)

	(1)	(2)
	West	East
	b	b
Left-wing	0.60*** (0.03)	-0.40*** (0.05)
EVS wave 1999-2001 $\times$ Left-wing	-0.06 (0.05)	0.47*** (0.07)
EVS wave 2008-2010 $\times$ Left-wing	-0.07 (0.05)	0.57*** (0.06)
EVS wave 1999-2001	0.33*** (0.03)	-0.45*** (0.04)
EVS wave 2008-2010	0.29*** (0.03)	-0.89*** (0.04)
Constant	-0.40*** (0.04)	-0.94*** (0.05)
Country dummies	Yes	Yes
Observations	52683	37279
Pseudo R^2	0.06	0.07

Note: Logistic regressions. Robust standard errors in parentheses. Significance levels: ⁺ $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. *West*: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Ireland, Iceland, Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden. *East*: Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia.

Table EA2: Evolution of the Effect of Ideology on Protesting 2004-2012 (ESS)

	(1)	(2)
	West	East
	b	b
Left-wing	0.62*** (0.09)	-0.11 (0.15)
ESS wave 4 $\times$ Left-wing	-0.18 (0.11)	-0.07 (0.21)
ESS wave 6 $\times$ Left-wing	0.02 (0.08)	0.09 (0.23)
Center	-0.04 (0.05)	-0.41** (0.15)
ESS wave 4 $\times$ Center	0.01 (0.06)	-0.18 (0.13)
ESS wave 6 $\times$ Center	0.02 (0.05)	0.08 (0.05)
ESS wave 4	0.08+ (0.05)	0.06 (0.10)
ESS wave 6	-0.05 (0.05)	0.11 (0.23)
Constant	-1.20*** (0.03)	-1.42*** (0.11)
Country dummies	Yes	Yes
Observations	65265	24908
Pseudo R^2	0.05	0.04

Note: Logistic regressions. Robust standard errors in parentheses. Significance levels: + $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. *West*: Belgium, Switzerland, Germany, Denmark, Spain, Finland, France, Great Britain, Ireland, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden. *East*: Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia.

Table EA3: Ideology and Protest Participation by Country (West 1)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	Austria	Belgium	Switzerland	Germany	Denmark	Spain	Finland	France	Great Britain
	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
Left-wing	0.57*** (0.08)	0.41*** (0.06)	0.62*** (0.06)	0.47*** (0.05)	0.41*** (0.06)	0.57*** (0.07)	0.38*** (0.05)	0.69*** (0.06)	0.18** (0.06)
Center	0.16+ (0.09)	0.06 (0.07)	-0.01 (0.06)	0.02 (0.05)	0.07 (0.06)	0.23** (0.08)	0.12* (0.06)	0.22** (0.07)	-0.02 (0.06)
Female	0.18** (0.07)	0.22*** (0.05)	0.13** (0.05)	0.28*** (0.04)	0.46*** (0.05)	0.19*** (0.05)	0.63*** (0.04)	0.16** (0.05)	0.38*** (0.04)
Age	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.03*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.03*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
Education (in years)	0.07*** (0.01)	0.08*** (0.01)	0.08*** (0.01)	0.10*** (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)	0.08*** (0.01)	0.08*** (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)
Very interested in politics	1.55*** (0.15)	1.44*** (0.10)	1.16*** (0.12)	1.32*** (0.12)	1.09*** (0.16)	1.51*** (0.11)	1.11*** (0.11)	1.18*** (0.10)	1.57*** (0.09)
Quite interested in politics	1.10*** (0.14)	0.95*** (0.08)	0.84*** (0.11)	1.05*** (0.11)	0.88*** (0.16)	1.26*** (0.08)	0.74*** (0.09)	0.84*** (0.08)	1.13*** (0.07)
Hardly interested	0.59*** (0.14)	0.48*** (0.08)	0.35** (0.11)	0.56*** (0.11)	0.54*** (0.16)	0.57*** (0.07)	0.35*** (0.09)	0.34*** (0.08)	0.66*** (0.08)
TU member	0.27*** (0.07)	0.17*** (0.05)	0.60*** (0.07)	0.41*** (0.05)	0.14** (0.05)	0.64*** (0.08)	0.04 (0.04)	1.08*** (0.09)	0.40*** (0.06)
Democratic satisfaction	-0.03* (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.03* (0.01)	-0.06*** (0.01)	-0.03* (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.01)
Ideological opponent of the incumbent cabinet	0.00 (.)	0.05 (0.06)	0.02 (0.06)	0.03 (0.05)	0.19*** (0.06)	0.19** (0.07)	0.16** (0.05)	0.12+ (0.06)	0.09+ (0.05)
Constant	-2.34*** (0.23)	-1.88*** (0.17)	-1.60*** (0.18)	-2.69*** (0.16)	-1.10*** (0.21)	-1.65*** (0.19)	-1.56*** (0.17)	-1.80*** (0.17)	-1.93*** (0.15)
ESS wave dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	6469	10397	9582	17063	9398	8419	12200	10929	12626
Pseudo R^2	0.07	0.08	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.12	0.11	0.11	0.07

Note: Logistic regressions. Robust standard errors in parentheses. Significance levels: + $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Table EA4: Ideology and Protest Participation by Country (West 2)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	Greece	Ireland	Island	Italy	Luxembourg	Netherlands	Norway	Portugal	Sweden
	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
Left-wing	0.82*** (0.12)	0.39*** (0.07)	0.54*** (0.16)	0.55*** (0.13)	0.30+ (0.16)	0.60*** (0.08)	0.37*** (0.05)	0.34** (0.11)	0.39*** (0.05)
Center	0.01 (0.14)	-0.03 (0.06)	0.15 (0.18)	0.14 (0.15)	0.13 (0.15)	0.12+ (0.07)	0.02 (0.06)	0.01 (0.14)	0.18** (0.06)
Female	0.17+ (0.10)	0.27*** (0.05)	0.30* (0.14)	0.04 (0.10)	-0.08 (0.13)	0.27*** (0.05)	0.25*** (0.04)	-0.33*** (0.09)	0.29*** (0.04)
Age	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.01* (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)
Education (in years)	0.09*** (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)	0.05*** (0.01)	0.06*** (0.02)	0.07*** (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)	0.14*** (0.01)	0.02*** (0.01)
Very interested in politics	2.12*** (0.17)	1.48*** (0.09)	0.70* (0.32)	2.14*** (0.22)	1.08*** (0.23)	1.33*** (0.14)	1.11*** (0.12)	1.53*** (0.18)	1.19*** (0.10)
Quite interested in politics	1.21*** (0.15)	1.00*** (0.08)	0.38 (0.29)	1.24*** (0.19)	0.43* (0.21)	1.06*** (0.13)	0.88*** (0.11)	0.73*** (0.14)	0.79*** (0.09)
Hardly interested	0.53*** (0.15)	0.31*** (0.08)	0.07 (0.30)	0.70*** (0.19)	0.13 (0.21)	0.61*** (0.13)	0.52*** (0.11)	0.24 (0.15)	0.51*** (0.09)
TU member	0.73*** (0.13)	0.36*** (0.06)	0.35* (0.15)	0.73*** (0.13)	0.42*** (0.13)	0.36*** (0.06)	0.16*** (0.04)	0.76*** (0.14)	0.20*** (0.04)
Democratic satisfaction	-0.07*** (0.02)	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.06+ (0.03)	-0.03 (0.02)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02+ (0.01)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.04*** (0.01)
Ideological opponent of the incumbent cabinet	-0.12 (0.12)	0.00 (.)	0.16 (0.16)	-0.11 (0.13)	0.00 (.)	0.01 (0.08)	0.04 (0.05)	0.23* (0.11)	0.06 (0.04)
Constant	-3.31*** (0.34)	-1.46*** (0.17)	-0.02 (0.48)	-2.10*** (0.32)	-1.21** (0.44)	-3.17*** (0.19)	-0.88*** (0.16)	-3.68*** (0.31)	-1.00*** (0.15)
ESS wave dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	7107	11712	1058	2698	1893	12061	10267	8863	11088
Pseudo R^2	0.17	0.08	0.05	0.13	0.06	0.06	0.05	0.18	0.04

Note: Logistic regressions. Robust standard errors in parentheses. Significance levels: + $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Table EA5: Ideology and Protest Participation by Country (East)

	<i>Western Pattern</i>				<i>Eastern Pattern</i>		<i>Mixed Pattern</i>		
	(1) Estonia b	(2) Croatia b	(3) Slovenia b	(4) Bulgaria b	(5) Czech Republic b	(6) Hungary b	(7) Poland b	(8) Lithuania b	(9) Slovakia b
Left-wing	0.14 (0.10)	0.41** (0.15)	0.20 ⁺ (0.10)	-0.33* (0.13)	-0.12 ⁺ (0.08)	-0.72*** (0.12)	-0.14 (0.10)	0.17 (0.18)	-0.07 (0.08)
Center	-0.29*** (0.09)	0.07 (0.15)	-0.07 (0.12)	-0.50*** (0.14)	-0.28** (0.09)	-0.88*** (0.14)	-0.28*** (0.08)	0.19 (0.20)	-0.18* (0.09)
Female	0.30*** (0.08)	-0.03 (0.12)	0.25*** (0.08)	-0.10 (0.10)	0.12* (0.06)	-0.00 (0.09)	0.07 (0.07)	0.35* (0.15)	0.01 (0.07)
Age	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.01** (0.00)	-0.03*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.01** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)
Education (in years)	0.12*** (0.01)	0.12*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.01)	0.15*** (0.02)	0.10*** (0.01)	0.11*** (0.01)	0.15*** (0.01)	0.13*** (0.03)	0.06*** (0.01)
Very interested in politics	1.42*** (0.22)	1.59*** (0.22)	1.46*** (0.19)	1.34*** (0.23)	1.67*** (0.15)	2.36*** (0.26)	1.68*** (0.18)	0.95** (0.36)	1.28*** (0.17)
Quite interested in politics	1.22*** (0.19)	1.02*** (0.17)	1.15*** (0.16)	0.65** (0.20)	1.13*** (0.10)	1.90*** (0.24)	1.09*** (0.15)	0.63* (0.25)	1.03*** (0.14)
Hardly interested	0.62** (0.19)	0.59*** (0.17)	0.54*** (0.16)	0.45* (0.21)	0.65*** (0.09)	0.84*** (0.24)	0.44** (0.15)	0.21 (0.23)	0.51*** (0.14)
TU member	0.52*** (0.13)	0.27 ⁺ (0.16)	0.29** (0.09)	0.70*** (0.16)	0.35*** (0.11)	0.42** (0.15)	0.68*** (0.11)	0.56* (0.27)	0.39*** (0.11)
Democratic satisfaction	0.03 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.03 ⁺ (0.01)	-0.08*** (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.05** (0.02)
Ideological opponent of the incumbent cabinet	0.00 (.)	0.00 (.)	0.03 (0.10)	0.25* (0.12)	0.03 (0.07)	0.20 ⁺ (0.12)	-0.09 (0.10)	0.03 (0.17)	0.01 (0.08)
Constant	-4.60*** (0.30)	-2.85*** (0.38)	-2.51*** (0.28)	-4.03*** (0.35)	-2.66*** (0.24)	-4.04*** (0.34)	-4.23*** (0.25)	-3.25*** (0.54)	-1.51*** (0.24)
ESS wave dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	7588	2166	6525	5770	10138	8691	9182	3744	6970
Pseudo R^2	0.09	0.09	0.09	0.09	0.06	0.14	0.11	0.08	0.04

Note: Logistic regressions. Robust standard errors in parentheses. Significance levels: ⁺ $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Table EA6: Replication of Table 2: Continuous L/R Scale

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	West	East: WP	East: EP	East: MP
	b	b	b	b
L/R scale	-0.10*** (0.00)	-0.02* (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)
Center	-0.13*** (0.02)	-0.22*** (0.06)	-0.27*** (0.05)	-0.08 (0.08)
Female	0.25*** (0.01)	0.21*** (0.05)	0.06 (0.04)	0.10 ⁺ (0.06)
Age	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)
Education (in years)	0.07*** (0.00)	0.11*** (0.01)	0.13*** (0.01)	0.08*** (0.01)
Very interested in politics	1.36*** (0.03)	1.46*** (0.12)	1.77*** (0.09)	1.15*** (0.16)
Quite interested in politics	0.98*** (0.02)	1.15*** (0.10)	1.18*** (0.07)	0.89*** (0.12)
Hardly interested	0.52*** (0.02)	0.58*** (0.10)	0.60*** (0.07)	0.39** (0.12)
TU member	0.32*** (0.01)	0.36*** (0.07)	0.52*** (0.06)	0.43*** (0.10)
Democratic satisfaction	-0.03*** (0.00)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.01)	-0.04** (0.01)
Ideol. opponent of the incumbent	0.11*** (0.01)	0.06 (0.07)	0.08 ⁺ (0.05)	0.01 (0.08)
Constant	-1.53*** (0.05)	-3.27*** (0.21)	-4.26*** (0.15)	-2.34*** (0.25)
ESS wave dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	163830	16279	33781	10714
Pseudo R^2	0.10	0.11	0.11	0.06

Note: Logistic regressions. Robust standard errors in parentheses. Significance levels:

⁺ $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Table EA7: Replication of Table 2: Demonstrations Only

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	West	East: WP	East: EP	East: MP
	b	b	b	b
Left-wing	0.94*** (0.03)	0.47** (0.14)	-0.31*** (0.08)	-0.16 (0.18)
Center	0.24*** (0.03)	-0.11 (0.11)	-0.60*** (0.09)	-0.11 (0.19)
Female	0.01 (0.02)	-0.10 (0.09)	-0.33*** (0.07)	-0.03 (0.14)
Age	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Education (in years)	0.05*** (0.00)	0.09*** (0.01)	0.09*** (0.01)	0.09*** (0.02)
Very interested in politics	1.67*** (0.05)	1.71*** (0.19)	1.83*** (0.14)	0.77* (0.34)
Quite interested in politics	1.03*** (0.05)	1.03*** (0.18)	1.13*** (0.12)	0.77** (0.29)
Hardly interested	0.43*** (0.05)	0.60*** (0.18)	0.45*** (0.12)	0.27 (0.28)
TU member	0.56*** (0.03)	0.66*** (0.11)	0.72*** (0.10)	0.28 (0.22)
Democratic satisfaction	-0.05*** (0.00)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.05** (0.02)	-0.05+ (0.03)
Ideol. opponent of the incumbent	0.09*** (0.02)	-0.18 (0.14)	0.14+ (0.08)	-0.10 (0.18)
Constant	-3.72*** (0.09)	-4.78*** (0.37)	-3.77*** (0.24)	-4.31*** (0.56)
ESS wave dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	163736	16256	33731	10701
Pseudo R^2	0.14	0.10	0.09	0.03

Note: Logistic regressions. Robust standard errors in parentheses. Significance levels:

+ $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Table EA8: Replication of Table 2: Petitions Only

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	West	East: WP	East: EP	East: MP
	b	b	b	b
Left-wing	0.39*** (0.02)	0.11 (0.08)	-0.25*** (0.05)	-0.03 (0.08)
Center	0.08*** (0.02)	-0.18** (0.07)	-0.36*** (0.05)	-0.09 (0.08)
Female	0.28*** (0.01)	0.26*** (0.05)	0.11** (0.04)	0.12 ⁺ (0.06)
Age	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)
Education (in years)	0.07*** (0.00)	0.12*** (0.01)	0.13*** (0.01)	0.08*** (0.01)
Very interested in politics	1.30*** (0.03)	1.45*** (0.12)	1.76*** (0.09)	1.16*** (0.16)
Quite interested in politics	0.95*** (0.03)	1.15*** (0.10)	1.18*** (0.08)	0.87*** (0.13)
Hardly interested	0.51*** (0.03)	0.57*** (0.10)	0.63*** (0.07)	0.39** (0.12)
TU member	0.30*** (0.01)	0.28*** (0.07)	0.47*** (0.07)	0.45*** (0.11)
Democratic satisfaction	-0.03*** (0.00)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.01)	-0.04* (0.01)
Ideol. opponent of the incumbent	0.10*** (0.01)	0.05 (0.08)	0.06 (0.05)	0.03 (0.08)
Constant	-2.38*** (0.05)	-3.67*** (0.21)	-4.22*** (0.16)	-2.42*** (0.25)
ESS wave dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	163342	16249	33726	10669
Pseudo R^2	0.11	0.11	0.11	0.07

Note: Logistic regressions. Robust standard errors in parentheses. Significance levels:

⁺ $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Table EA9: Replication of Table 2: Cumulative Scale (DV = Petitions + Demonstrations)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	West	East: WP	East: EP	M4
	b	b	b	b
Left-wing	0.45*** (0.04)	0.14** (0.05)	-0.27* (0.13)	-0.03 (0.08)
Center	0.09*** (0.02)	-0.16 (0.10)	-0.42** (0.13)	-0.10 (0.12)
Female	0.25*** (0.03)	0.21* (0.09)	0.05 (0.04)	0.10 (0.13)
Age	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.01)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)
Education (in years)	0.07*** (0.01)	0.11*** (0.01)	0.13*** (0.02)	0.08** (0.03)
Very interested in politics	1.36*** (0.05)	1.47*** (0.06)	1.79*** (0.15)	1.18*** (0.14)
Quite interested in politics	0.98*** (0.04)	1.15*** (0.02)	1.19*** (0.18)	0.91*** (0.16)
Hardly interested in politics	0.51*** (0.04)	0.58*** (0.03)	0.62*** (0.06)	0.41** (0.13)
TU member	0.33*** (0.05)	0.36*** (0.07)	0.53*** (0.10)	0.42*** (0.04)
Democratic satisfaction	-0.03*** (0.00)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.04** (0.01)	-0.04* (0.01)
Ideol. opponent of the incumbent	0.10*** (0.02)	0.04 (0.04)	0.08 (0.06)	0.02 ⁺ (0.01)
Constant	-2.22*** (0.16)	-3.45*** (0.48)	-3.83*** (0.20)	-2.33*** (0.43)
ESS wave dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	163248	16226	33676	10656
Pseudo R^2	0.10	0.11	0.10	0.06

Note: Logistic regressions. Robust standard errors in parentheses. Significance levels:

⁺ $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Table EA10: Replication of Table 2: Ideological Extremes

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	West	East: WP	East: EP	East: MP
	b	b	b	b
Left-wing	0.43*** (0.02)	0.13 ⁺ (0.08)	-0.22*** (0.05)	-0.06 (0.08)
Left-wing extremist	0.23*** (0.04)	0.01 (0.11)	0.03 (0.11)	0.55*** (0.14)
Center	0.08*** (0.02)	-0.17** (0.06)	-0.37*** (0.05)	-0.07 (0.09)
Right-wing extremist	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.12 (0.13)	0.28*** (0.07)	0.18 (0.15)
Female	0.25*** (0.01)	0.21*** (0.05)	0.06 (0.04)	0.11 ⁺ (0.06)
Age	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)
Education (in years)	0.07*** (0.00)	0.11*** (0.01)	0.13*** (0.01)	0.08*** (0.01)
Very interested in politics	1.35*** (0.03)	1.47*** (0.12)	1.75*** (0.09)	1.11*** (0.16)
Quite interested in politics	0.98*** (0.02)	1.15*** (0.10)	1.18*** (0.07)	0.90*** (0.12)
Hardly interested	0.52*** (0.02)	0.58*** (0.10)	0.61*** (0.07)	0.40*** (0.12)
TU member	0.32*** (0.01)	0.36*** (0.07)	0.52*** (0.06)	0.43*** (0.10)
Democratic satisfaction	-0.03*** (0.00)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.01)	-0.03* (0.01)
Ideol. opponent of the incumbent	0.10*** (0.01)	0.04 (0.07)	0.08 ⁺ (0.05)	0.01 (0.08)
Constant	-2.22*** (0.05)	-3.45*** (0.20)	-3.88*** (0.15)	-2.37*** (0.25)
ESS wave dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	163830	16279	33781	10714
Pseudo R^2	0.10	0.11	0.11	0.06

Note: Logistic regressions. Robust standard errors in parentheses. Significance levels: ⁺ $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Extremists are respondents with extreme values (0,10) on the left-right scale.

Table EA11: Replication of Table 2: Clustered Standard Errors

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	West	East: WP	East: EP	East: MP
	b	b	b	b
Left-wing	0.45*** (0.04)	0.15** (0.05)	-0.27* (0.13)	-0.03 (0.07)
Center	0.09*** (0.02)	-0.15 (0.11)	-0.42*** (0.13)	-0.09 (0.13)
Female	0.25*** (0.04)	0.21* (0.09)	0.06 (0.04)	0.10 (0.13)
Age	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.01)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)
Education (in years)	0.07*** (0.01)	0.11*** (0.01)	0.13*** (0.02)	0.08** (0.03)
Very interested in politics	1.36*** (0.05)	1.46*** (0.06)	1.78*** (0.15)	1.15*** (0.16)
Quite interested in politics	0.98*** (0.04)	1.15*** (0.02)	1.19*** (0.17)	0.89*** (0.18)
Hardly interested	0.51*** (0.04)	0.58*** (0.03)	0.61*** (0.06)	0.39* (0.15)
TU member	0.32*** (0.05)	0.36*** (0.07)	0.52*** (0.10)	0.43*** (0.07)
Democratic satisfaction	-0.03*** (0.00)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.04** (0.01)	-0.04** (0.01)
Ideol. opponent of the incumbent	0.10*** (0.02)	0.04 (0.04)	0.08 (0.06)	0.02 ⁺ (0.01)
Constant	-2.21*** (0.16)	-3.46*** (0.47)	-3.83*** (0.20)	-2.32*** (0.42)
ESS wave dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	163830	16279	33781	10714
Pseudo R^2	0.10	0.11	0.10	0.06

Note: Logistic regressions. Clustered standard errors in parentheses. Significance levels:

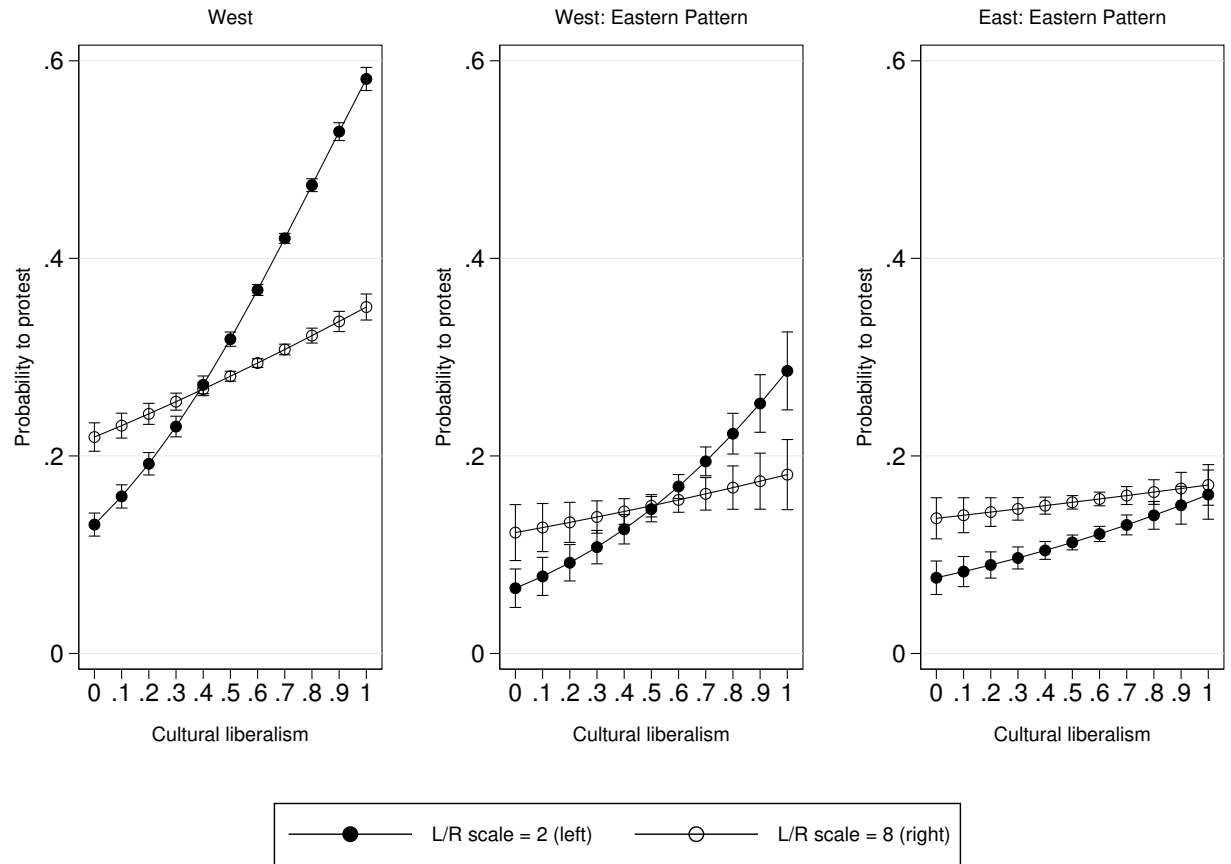
⁺ $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Table EA12: Replication of Table 3: Continuous L/R scale, reduction of inc. inequalities

	West		East: Western Pattern		East: Eastern Pattern	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	b	b	b	b	b	b
L/R scale	0.11*** (0.01)		0.12*** (0.04)		0.12*** (0.03)	
L/R scale $\times$ Cultural liberalism	-0.29*** (0.02)		-0.23*** (0.06)		-0.10* (0.04)	
Reduce inequality		0.47*** (0.11)		0.55 (0.47)		-0.09 (0.26)
Reduce inequality $\times$ Cultural liberalism		-1.44*** (0.17)		-1.11 (0.75)		0.53 (0.43)
Cultural liberalism	3.01*** (0.11)	2.25*** (0.07)	2.35*** (0.35)	1.52*** (0.27)	1.10*** (0.29)	0.32 ⁺ (0.18)
Female	0.21*** (0.01)	0.21*** (0.01)	0.18** (0.06)	0.17** (0.06)	0.07 (0.04)	0.07 (0.04)
Age	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)
Education (in years)	0.05*** (0.00)	0.05*** (0.00)	0.10*** (0.01)	0.10*** (0.01)	0.11*** (0.01)	0.11*** (0.01)
Very interested in politics	1.25*** (0.04)	1.27*** (0.04)	1.55*** (0.16)	1.57*** (0.16)	1.78*** (0.10)	1.79*** (0.10)
Quite interested in politics	0.94*** (0.03)	0.93*** (0.03)	1.28*** (0.14)	1.29*** (0.14)	1.22*** (0.09)	1.22*** (0.09)
Hardly interested in politics	0.53*** (0.03)	0.51*** (0.03)	0.76*** (0.14)	0.77*** (0.14)	0.68*** (0.08)	0.68*** (0.08)
TU member	0.32*** (0.02)	0.33*** (0.02)	0.33*** (0.09)	0.32*** (0.09)	0.52*** (0.07)	0.51*** (0.07)
Democratic satisfaction	-0.05*** (0.00)	-0.05*** (0.00)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.01)
Ideol. opponent of the incumbent	0.09*** (0.01)	0.14*** (0.01)	0.09 (0.07)	0.10 (0.06)	0.07 (0.05)	0.05 (0.04)
Constant	-3.27*** (0.09)	-2.92*** (0.08)	-4.65*** (0.33)	-4.25*** (0.29)	-4.71*** (0.24)	-3.96*** (0.19)
ESS wave dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	110944	110089	9563	9475	23005	22748
Pseudo R^2	0.12	0.11	0.11	0.11	0.10	0.10

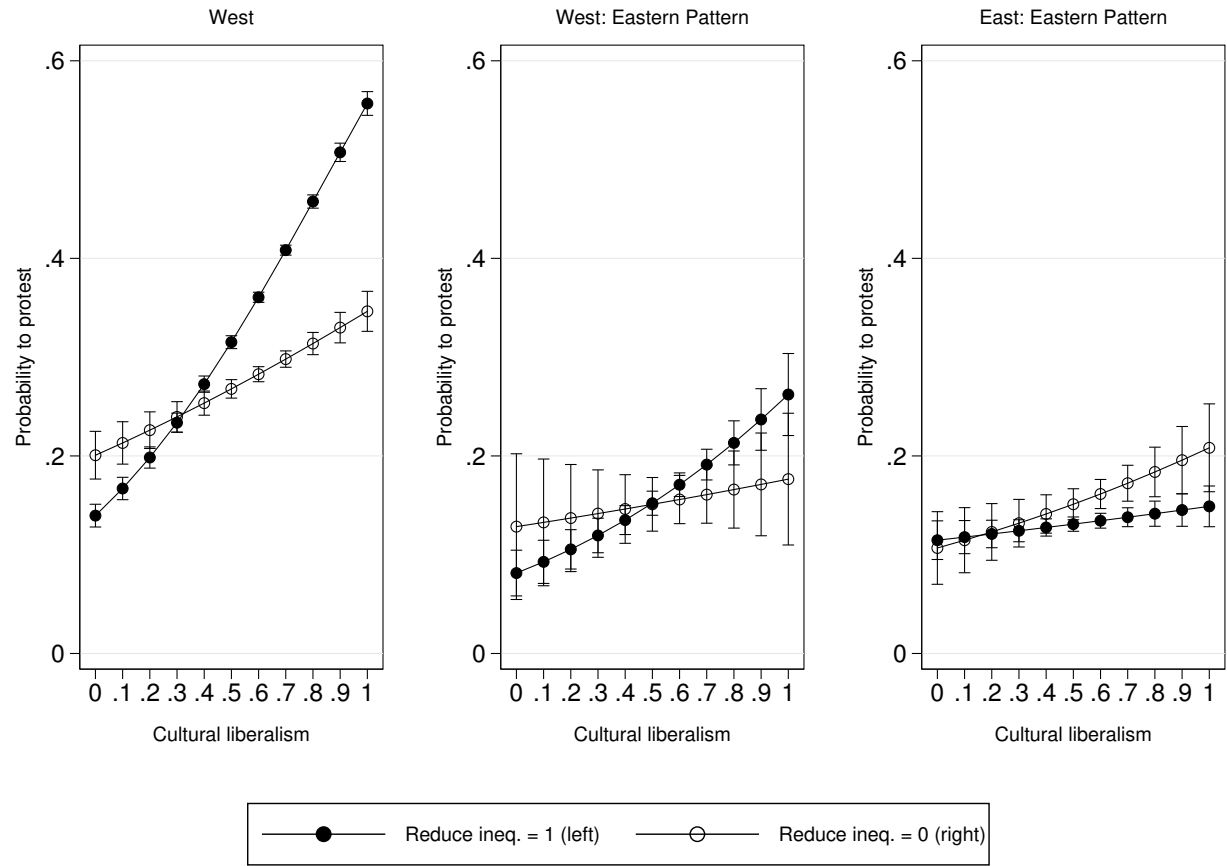
Note: Logistic regressions. Robust standard errors in parentheses. Significance levels: ⁺ $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. For a visual presentation of the results see Figures EA2 & EA3.

Figure EA1: Replication of Figure 4 (Continuous L/R scale)



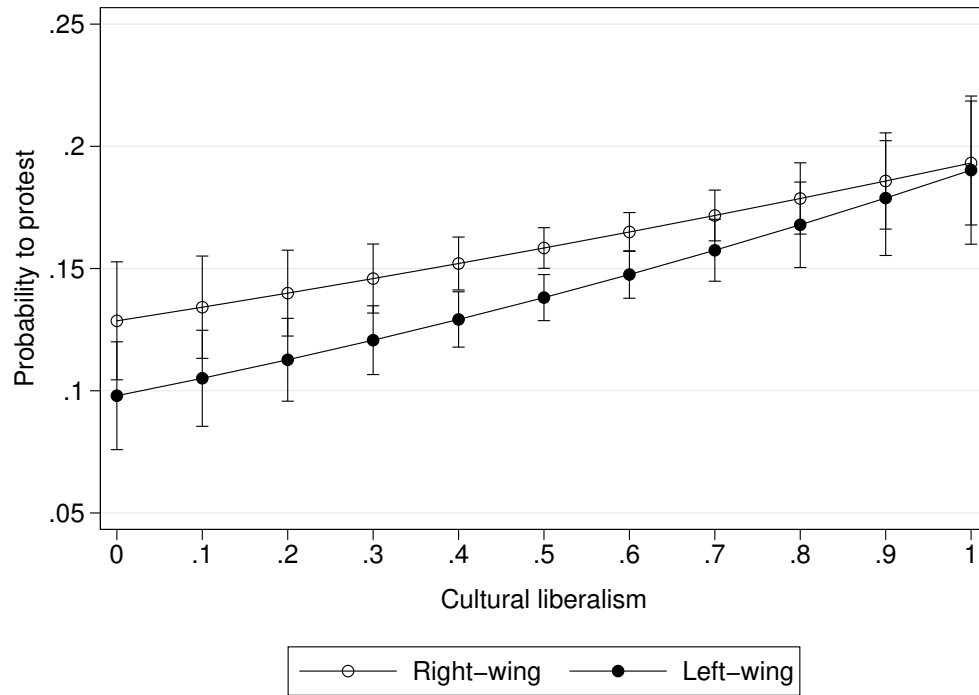
Note: Replication of Figure 4 using the continuous version of L/R scale. Based on Table EA6. 95 % confidence intervals.

Figure EA2: Replication of Figure 4 (Support for reduction of income inequalities)



Note: Replication of Figure 4 using support for reduction of income inequalities instead of the left/right categories. Based on Table EA12. 95 % confidence intervals.

Figure EA3: Replication of Figure 4 (EP pattern without Hungary)



Note: Replication of Figure 4 (East: EP) without Hungary. 95 % confidence intervals.

Table EA13: Scalability coefficient H by country (ESS and EVS Data)

Country	ESS	EVS
Austria	0.56	0.73
Belgium	0.56	0.70
Bulgaria	0.58	0.40
Croatia	0.80	0.79
Czech Rep.	0.67	0.65
Denmark	0.57	0.56
Estonia	0.40	0.41
Spain	0.50	0.46
Finland	0.72	0.71
France	0.60	0.69
Germany	0.58	0.69
Great Britain	0.78	0.85
Greece	0.47	NA
Hungary	0.47	0.72
Ireland	0.64	0.75
Iceland	0.59	0.68
Italy	0.51	NA
Latvia	NA	0.40
Lithuania	0.49	0.56
Luxembourg	0.45	NA
Netherlands	0.59	0.72
Norway	0.60	NA
Poland	0.57	0.49
Portugal	0.44	0.54
Romania	NA	0.34
Sweden	0.65	0.70
Switzerland	0.74	NA
Slovenia	0.46	0.56
Slovakia	0.66	0.66

Note: “NA” means that the country was not used in the analysis due to missing data in (some or all) waves of the given survey.

Table EA14: Descriptive statistics: EVS

Variable	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Protest participation	234347	0.270	0.440	0	1
Left-wing	234796	0.320	0.470	0	1
Center	234796	0.330	0.470	0	1
L/R scale	234796	5.090	2.170	0	10
Reduce inequality	232169	0.290	0.260	0	1
Female	234561	0.520	0.500	0	1
Age	233873	49.96	17.32	18	123
Education (in years)	232736	12.55	4.090	0	56
Democratic satisfaction	230586	5.320	2.440	0	10
Very interested in politics	234345	0.120	0.320	0	1
Quite interested in politics	234345	0.390	0.490	0	1
Hardly interested in politics	234345	0.350	0.480	0	1
Not at all interested in politics	234345	0.140	0.350	0	1
TU member	232108	0.210	0.410	0	1
Ideological opponent of the incumbent cabinet	234793	0.320	0.470	0	1

Table EA15: Descriptive statistics: ESS

Variable	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Protest participation	102112	0.470	0.500	0	1
Left-wing	106869	0.460	0.500	0	1

Note on the Political Patterning in Hungary and Poland

The political spaces of Poland and Hungary were in flux in the 1990s, but stabilized towards the end of the decade. We assess this development by considering party and voter placement on economic and cultural issues among the most significant parties of Hungary and Poland, using the Manifesto Project Data (Volgens et al., 2018), the Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) data (Bakker et al., 2015, Polk et al., 2017), World and European Values Surveys, and the 1994 Hungarian Election Study (Klingemann and Toka, 1998).

Figures EA4 and EA5 show the over-time positional change of Hungarian and Polish parties. On economic issues, the dispersion of party placements decreases dramatically over the 1990s. This is particularly pronounced in Hungary, where by 2005 economic positions of major parties are hardly distinguishable. By the 2000s, the major right-wing competitors (Fidesz in Hungary, and PiS in Poland) are frequently to the left of the major left-wing parties (MSzP in Hungary, and SLD in Poland).

Figure EA4: Hungarian party developments

Hungary

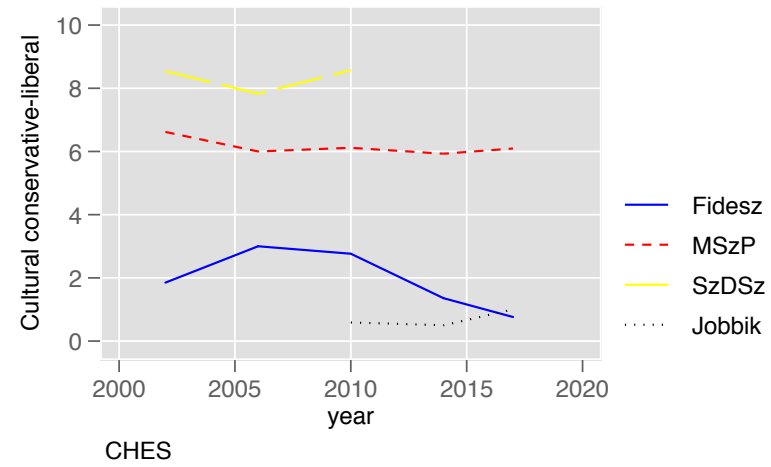
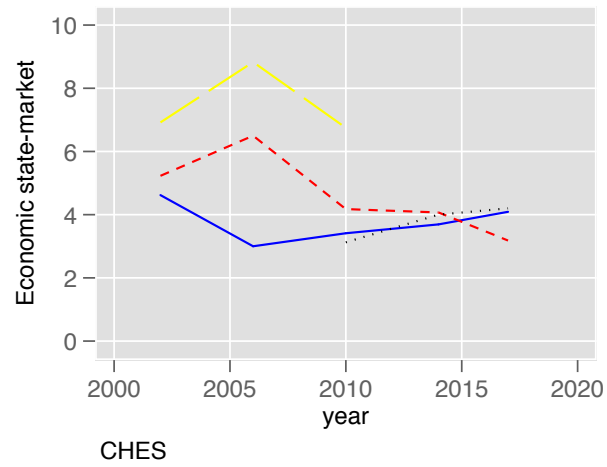
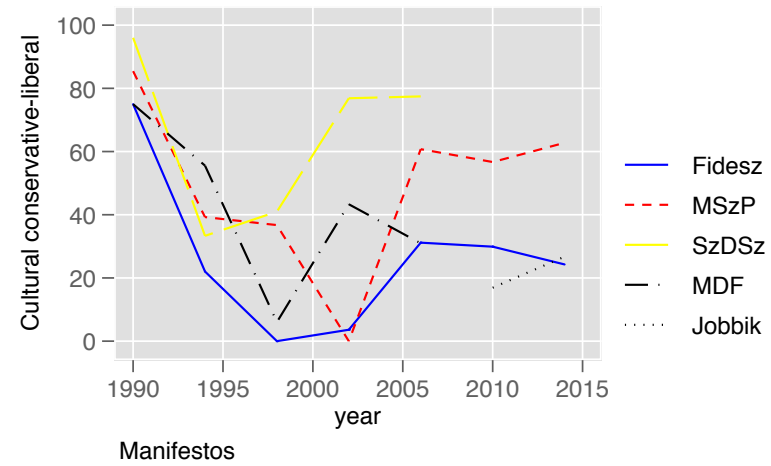
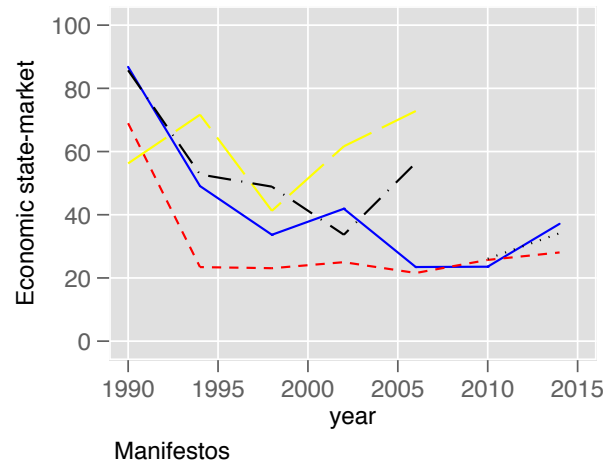
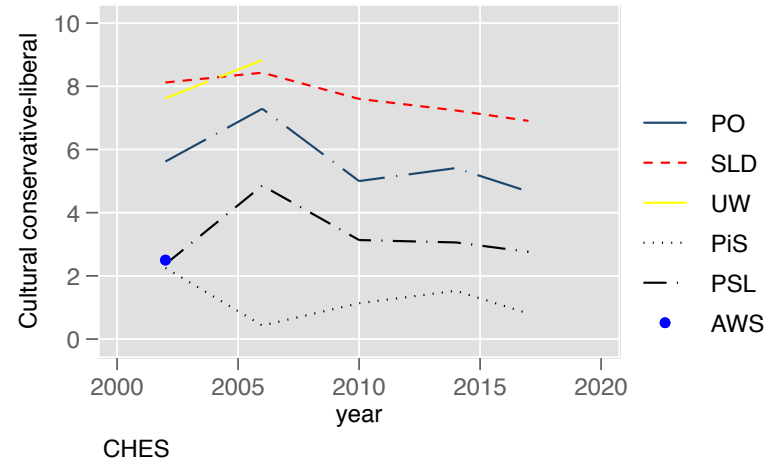
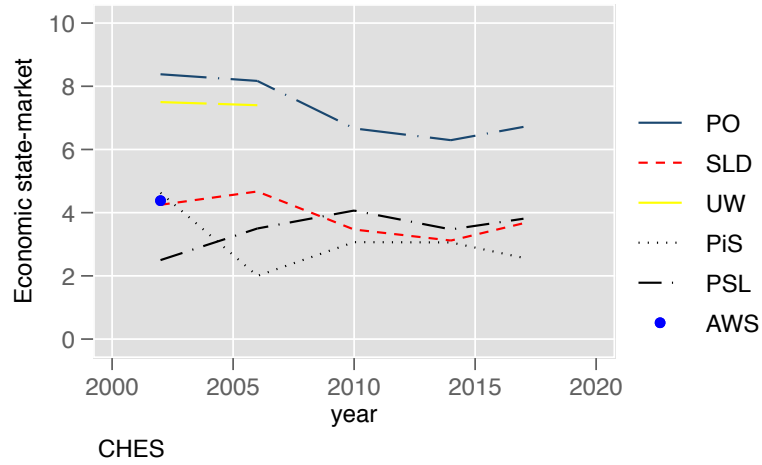
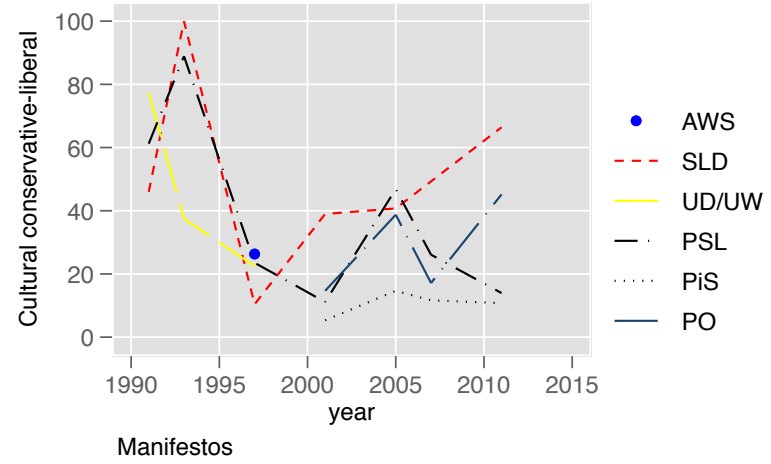
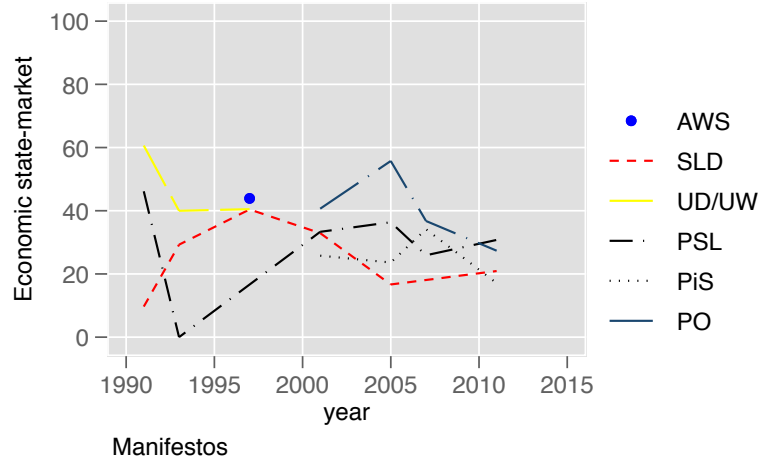


Figure EA5: Polish party developments

Poland



On the cultural dimension, both countries manifest an initial spike in cultural liberalism (among almost all major parties) in the early 1990s, followed by a significant shift to cultural conservatism by the second half of the decade. This shift is, however, most significant and lasting on the part of the right-wing parties. By the 2000s, it is the left parties (MSzP and SLD) that dominate the culturally liberal pole, while the major right-wing competitors (Fidesz and PiS) dominate the culturally conservative end of the spectrum.

We can also see the formation of this space by examining the placement of parties and mean voters on the economic and cultural dimensions, depicted in figures EA4 and EA5. Here we see that in both countries the major left and liberal parties remain consistently placed. The ex-communist parties (MSzP and SLD) take statist and culturally moderately liberal positions, while liberal parties (SzDSz and UD/UW) take up market economic and culturally liberal stances.

Figure EA6: Hungarian political space

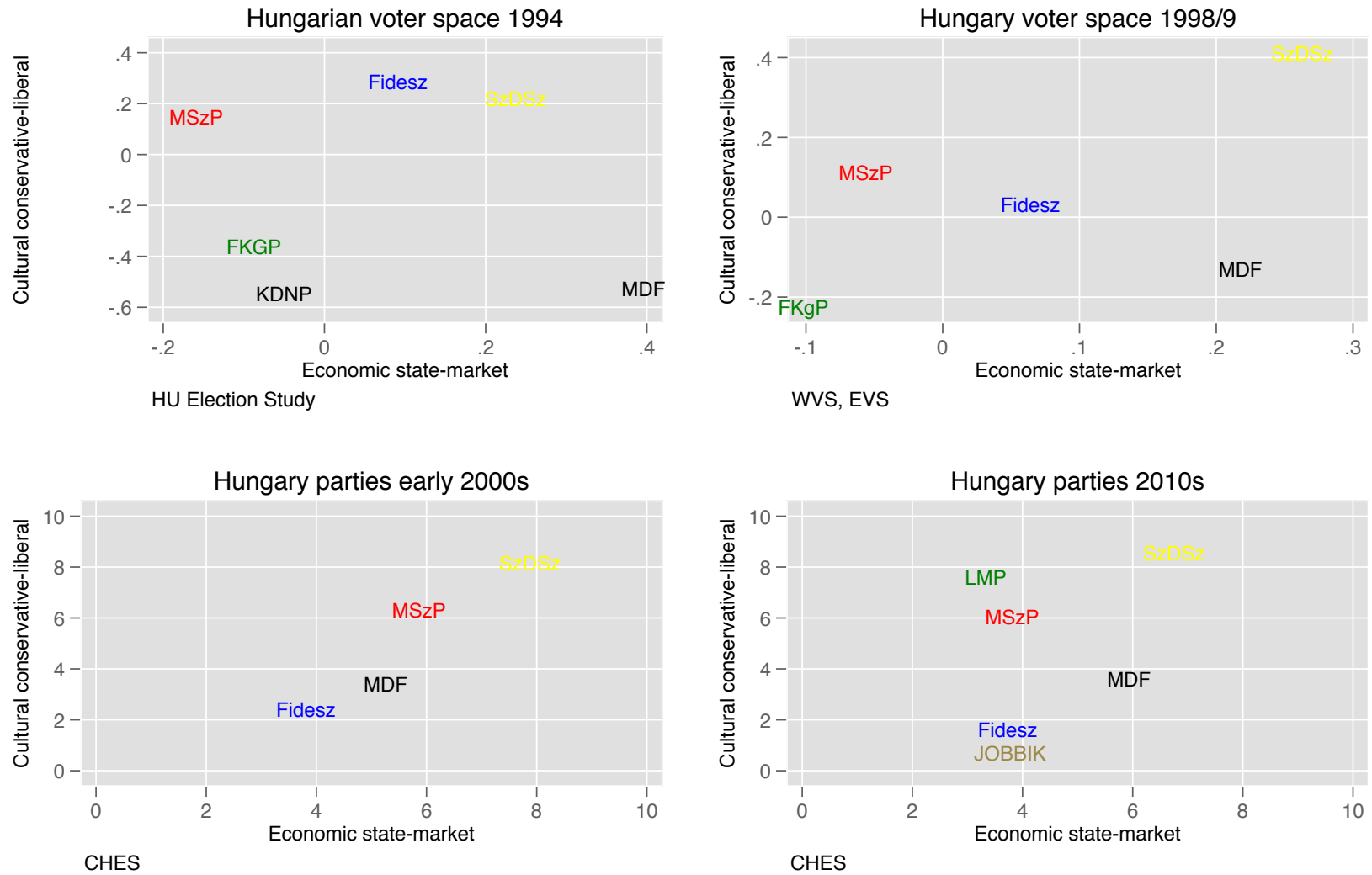
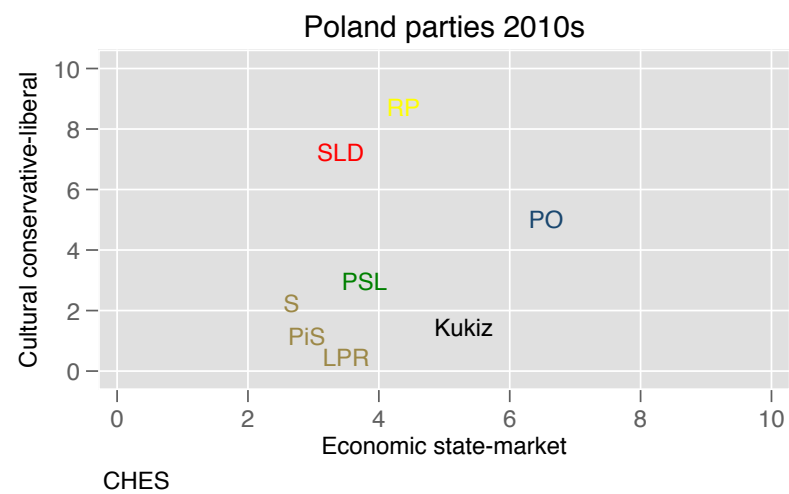
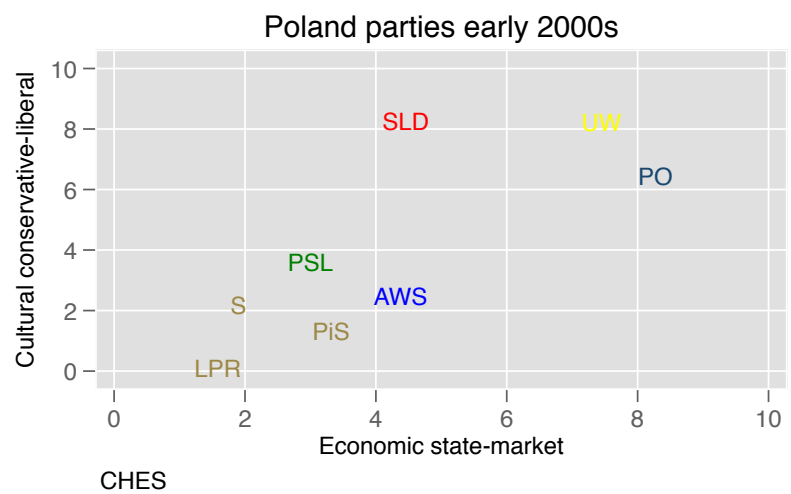
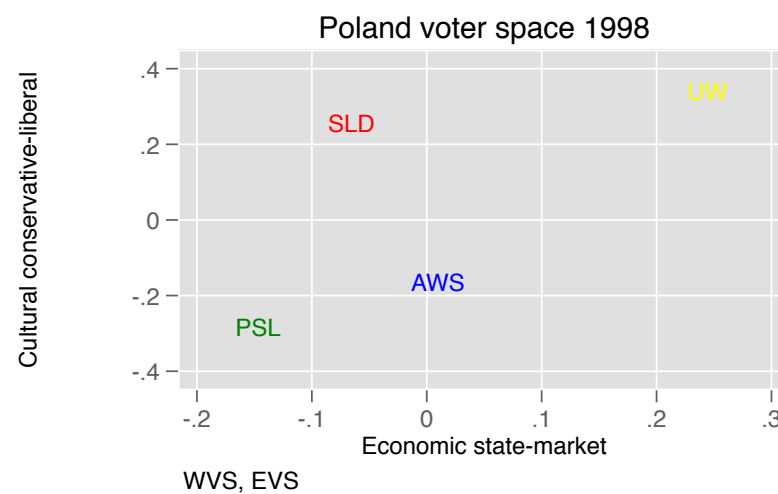
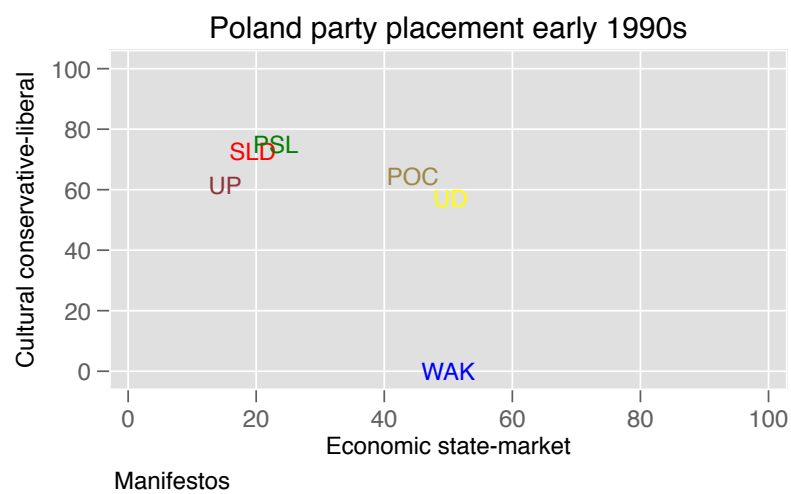


Figure EA7: Polish political space



It is the major right parties whose positions are less fixed during the 1990s. In the early period, we see the Hungarian right dominated by the Christian Democratic and nationalist MDF, which throughout the 1990s seems to take distinctly pro-market economic positions, while being culturally conservative. Fidesz initially stands near, but to the statist side of the liberals, taking culturally liberal, but only moderate pro-market positions. This situation changes towards the late 1990s as MDF starts to lose its electoral primacy on the right to Fidesz. During this period Fidesz shifts significantly towards the culturally conservative end of the spectrum, while simultaneously shifting towards economic statism. While there is no clear competition pattern that would connect the economic and cultural dimension in the early 1990s, the later 1990s see the formation of a connection between economic statism and cultural conservatism, positions driven by Fidesz and later also the radical right Jobbik.

In Poland the right is initially fragmented between the liberals (UD/UW), and various Christian factions. These Christians tend towards moderate cultural conservatism, but initially seem to be relatively pro-market oriented. As in Hungary, this changes in the late 1990s as the Electoral Action Solidarity (AWS) an umbrella grouping for the Christian right shifts towards the economic center, and eventually splinters. This splintering leads to the creation of a more liberal Civic Platform (PO), and a more Christian nationalist Law and Justice party (PiS). This fragmentation solidifies the patterning of Polish politics between economically statist cultural conservatives dominated by PiS, and more culturally liberal economic centrists (SLD, RP) or free marketeers (PO).

In sum, while the Hungarian and Polish systems demonstrate initial tendencies towards cultural liberalism on the part of the right-wing parties, this liberalism is short-lived, and eclipsed by the (relative) liberalism of the major ex-communist left-wing competitors and liberals. Simultaneously, there is a relative shift of the major right-wing competitors to the economically statist positions, which are often more statist than (or hard

to distinguish from) the positions of the socialist parties. By the late 1990s and early 2000s, this consequently produces a political space connecting statist economic positions (often associated with nominally ‘right-wing’ parties) with cultural conservatism, while pro-market stances are associated with cultural liberals. Hungary and Poland thus ultimately follow the eastern pattern.